THE

Hindu Message

A Weekly Review of Indian and World-Problems
from the Hindu Standpoint.

VOL. VI., No. 10.] Registered No. M. 1304. THURSDAY JULY 15 1920. [PRICE: 2 As. Annual Subscription Rs. 6.

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THE HINDU MESSAGE stands or

(1) The Maintenance of British supremacy with self-government for India,

(2) Co-operation with the different communities of India without prejudice to Hindu Dharma,

(3) Education of the Hindus as an integral part of the Indian Nation,

(4) Advancement of Material prosperity on a spiritual basis and

(5) Dissemination of pure Hindu Culture.

Annual Subscription Rs. 6 only.
For *bona fide* students Rs. 3 only. Postage As. 13. Extra.
Single copy As. 2 only.

The Editor will be pleased to consider manuscripts if accompanied by stamped and addressed envelopes. He accepts no responsibility, however, for manuscripts submitted to him.

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A Vision of India.

THE APPEAL OF INDIAN VEGETATION.

By K. S. RAMASWAMI SASTRI, B.A., B.L.

Bright India's trees shine on our wondering eyes
With wealth of many-tinted leaves and flowers.
The joyful wind through forward-speeding hours
With them as harps strikes notes of paradise.
Their odours sweet the gladdened mind entice
To dream of Love's delights in Poesy's bowers.
With joys delicious their sweet fruit age dowers
Our taste that pleasure seeks with enterprise.
We get from kind paternal flowers and leaves
Their friendly velvet touch; and more than all
Is that deep joy with which they dower the soul.
My entire being through the realm of trees receives
The message clear of God's triumphant call,
The radiant rapture of the cosmic whole.

Great Thoughts.

The trees that go down first in the storms are those that have sent no deep roots into the earth. They found sufficient moisture to satisfy them too near the surface, and they had no deep undergrowth to hold them when fierce winds came. They are lives that grow in the same way. They have a shallow faith that contents them while the skies are clear, but nothing to steady and help them when tempests of sorrow or temptation come.

Be useful where thou livest, that they may
Both want and wish thy pleasing presence still,
Kindness, good parts, great places, are the way
To compass this. Find out men's wants and will,
And meet them there. All worldly joys go less
To the one joy of doing kindnesses.

By holiness do we not mean something different from virtue? It is not the same as duty; still less is it the same as religious belief. It is a name for an inner grace of nature, an instinct of the soul, by which, though knowing of earthly appetites and worldly passions, the spirit, purifying itself of these, and independent of reason, argument, and the struggles of the will, dwells in patient and confident communion with the seen and the unseen Good.

Few persons cultivate the art of being good listeners, and yet to listen truly and attentively is to gain much for oneself and to give much. The intent, sympathetic hearer is an inspiration to the one who speaks, and draws out the best he has to give.

The easiest time to do a disagreeable duty is when we first decide it is a duty. Evasion and delay double the unpleasantness, and hours of foretaste and distaste are added to discomfort the decisive action that must come at last. Dodging the disagreeable is a losing game.

The present is the outcome of the past. The forces which fashion the thoughts of to-day have been set in motion centuries ago and have grown with cumulative momentum. Nothing really valuable in thought is lost. The world has been made by thoughts as much as by deeds and by books more than by battles. There is no magic like the magic of great thoughts. There is an evolution of ideas, an increasing movement ot spirit which moulds for good or ill each new age and swells the stream of influence operating upon our day.

The twentieth century is the heir of all the centuries, the resultant of complementary and sometimes conflicting forces. The religious world is conscious that it has within it the work of all the pioneers who struck out the ideals which are as yet only dimly perceived and but partially fulfilled. The poets, philosophers and scientists have bequeathed their ideas and achievements to their successors—and out of the accumulated materials of the ages we are summoned to build the edifice ot our spiritual life.

Events of the Week.

The proposal to start a "Dyer Appreciation Fund" with the object of presenting General Dyer with a sword of honour and a substantial purse is too horrible and too shocking to be soberly considered. We have heard of purses being offered to veteran defenders of national liberty like Lokamanya Tilak. We have heard of swords of honour being presented to people who reflected great glory on their homeland. But General Dyer, it seems, is to be honoured because he wrought an indelible blot on the fair name of Britain. Perhaps the few Anglo-Indians who make the proposal believe the inhuman slaughter of men, women and children to be no blot, but a feather on his cap. The brutality of the proposal extends to an unbelievable degree; for the promoters of the fund even expect Indians to subscribe to it. A wilder and a madder expectation can never have been formed. Have Indians lost their sense of humanity and patriotism that a few mad Anglo-Indians should dare to make this proposal to them? There seems to be no limit to the monstrosities which man may perpetrate when he is blinded by race-prejudice and chauvinism. We wish that General Dyer and his atrocities are clean forgotten. But the memorial which General Dyer has raised to himself in the Punjab will last longer and perpetuate his memory more effectively than anything that Anglo-Indians can achieve by way of swords and funds.

* * *

The venue of the special Congress is as yet uncertain. Calcutta and Jubbulpore have withdrawn in favour of Berhampore. And the all-India Congress Committee is also in favour of Berhampore. But Bombay seems to have put forward a belated claim. It would be a pity if the privilege of holding the special congress were now to be wrested from Berhampore, the more so, because arrangements in Berhampore seem to have well-nigh advanced. We do not see any reason why Bombay should be preferred to Berhampore. Will our Andhra brethren bestir themselves in the matter and be more vocal than hithertofore?

* * *

Bombay seems to have been selected as the place where an all-India Trades Union Cangress is to be held in the coming August. A Reception Committee has also been formed. This Congress is the first of its kind in India and augurs well for the future of Indian Labour.

* * *

The details of the South African Repatriation scheme practically throw the principle of voluntaryism to the winds. Our worst apprehensions are now justified. It is too much to expect that under the conditions now offered Indians could think of return with self-respect.

* * *

The recommendations of the conference of the Directors of Industries held at Simla in April last have seen the light of day. But they do not form a very encouraging reading. Most of them only reecho the proposals of the Industrial Commission. Two journals are proposed to be started, one for general information and another for private circulation among Directors of Industries. The malleability of the condition that the Imperial service will consist as far as possible of Indians has to be tested, as previous experiences warrant the conclusion that the recommendation will be honoured more in the breach than in the observance. Various ways of assisting new industries are suggested, such as loans, contributions to share and capital, agreement to purchase output and guarantee of dividend. But will these ever crystallise into practice? If real industrial regeneration is to be the aim and if certain action is desired to be taken apart from hollow words, the only honest way is to reconstruct India's tariff and advocate and carry out strong protection. Mere speeches will never improve matters.

* * *

A party of Mahajarins was proceeding by train to Jamrud. Two members of the party were detected by two British military police. An altercation ensued and an attempt was made to evict the Mahajarins. Thereupon the military police were attacked by a crowd of some forty Mahajarins and a British officer who intervened was seriously wounded. A detachment of Indian troops thereupon fired two or three shots; One Mahajarin was killed, one wounded, and three arrested. Both the British military police were injured. The body of the Mahajarin was despatched to Peshawar and buried on the 9th instant. Considerable excitement was caused in Peshawar city and shops were closed on the morning of the 9th. The Khilafat Hijrat Committee are exercising a restraining influence.

* * *

Messrs. Longmans have published on July 9 the biography of Sir Jagadis Chandra Bose by Professor Patrick Geddes. It is entitled "An Indian Pioneer of Science." The successive discoveries of the great scientist are told bringing down the story to his admission to the Royal Society and the great tribute paid to him by individual leaders in science. The biographer lays stress on the fact that in the value of the extraordinary results of Sir J. C. Bose's researches there has not been any kind of misunderstanding or collision between the east and the west. The life of the great scientist is a remarkable record of success of persistent industry and idealism. Young Indians must bear in mind the long uphill road trodden by their illustrious countryman. The contemplation of his great career recovers the noble traditions of ancient Indian intellect and restates them in modern terms finding greatest challenge for mind and soul in achieving their vital relation with the coming age.

* * *

The Editor of the Epiphany in its issue of the 19th ultimo published a letter casting aspersions upon Hindu widows saying that 99 per cent. of them are unchaste and that they pass their lives by prostitution in public or in private. One Manindra Nath Ganguli, a Calcutta pleader, moved for process against the editor and the writer of the letter before the District Magistrate of Howrah. The Magistrate, a European, questioned the petitioner's counsel as to the nature of the relief claimed. The petitioner's counsel stated that action was taken with the object of preventing such stuff going into the paper again, because his feelings as a member of the Hindu Community having widows amongst his own relatives had been seriously wounded. He was willing to compound if a suitable apology be made in Court and published in newspapers. The Magistrate issued process against the accused. Wonderful are the ways of Christian missionary papers in India!

* * *

The Asian Review is a Japanese journal which gives expression to the feelings of subject peoples which they cannot often speak or speak freely. Mr. Sadakazu Sugita, a member of the Japanese House of Peers, writes "The failure of the racial question at the Peace Conference at Paris is due to the selfishness of the white race. If there had been complete understanding among all the oriental nations, and if they had presented a united front at the Conference, we should certainly have won victory and made the white races to recognise our equal rights with them. Therefore I suggest that you make your magazine an organ of mutual understanding among the Asiatic peoples so that injustice and aggression from whatever quarter it comes, may be checkmated."

* * *

In 1916 the Government sanctioned a scheme for delivering popular health lectures accompanied by lantern demonstrations throughout the Presidency. Two assistant surgeons were employed on the work in 1916-17 and four in the two succeeding years. In 1919-20 the lectures had to be discontinued for want of medical officers. The Government now consider that the health propaganda can be better promoted by a single co-ordinating agency than by a multiplicity of agencies. They suggest that the South Indian Health and Welfare Association is well-fitted to promote health propaganda throughout the presidency and they have invited that Association to prepare a scheme in consultation with local bodies for carrying on the work.

The Hindu Message

The Social Conflict in Europe.

When Professor Bertrand Russell wrote his great book on "Social Reconstruction" in 1916, he became recognised as a living force and inspiration for a social change which was to end all existing sources of discontent and conflict among men. His principles were both execrated and extolled everywhere, but every one recognised that he was a prophet of living inspiration for a better and happier future for Europe and even for humanity at large. Narrow-minded bureaucrats like the late Lord Cromer abused him and held him up to the world's contempt. Petty souls like his can have no stomach to digest soaring spiritual pabulum like what Bertrand Russel offered to suffering humanity as its needed balm and the only hope for a future of peace and harmony in the world. But the thinking world is evidently growing to a better appreciation and recognition of his merits as a revealer of higher ideals to the men of his time and the generations yet unborn. The strife between capital and labour has entered on an acute stage everywhere—even in a country like Great Britain wedded irrevocably to moderation in all its ideals and methods of social and political action. The strife of Nationalities is also keen throughout the world, and even within the limits of the British Empire. Moreover the exploitation of one community by another, of minorities by majorities, &c. is a permanent feature of social life in all its aspects throughout the world. A new kind of Chauvinism has arisen everywhere, and hence the love of dominance through force on every possible occasion is an ugly feature of the post-War regime. Professor Bertrand Russell points out that "every strong conception of human life tends to pass through three phases. "He enumerates them to be the amiable the militant and the oppressive. He gives several illustrations. In Christianity, these stages were successively reached in the epochs of Constantine, the Crusades and the Inquisition. Capitalism has had its three phases in the repeal of the Corn Laws, in the overthrow of feudal institutions and in the exploitation of inferior races. As regards Nationalism, "Mazzini exhibited its amiable phase, Bismarck its militant phase and modern Inperialism its tryannical phase."

In Europe, Socialism was first preached as a panacea for the avoidance of conflict and tyranny among men in all its forms. A well-known English statesman once said—"We are all Socialists now." There has been plenty of social legislation in England and elsewhere to lighten the burdens of operatives of all kinds. This represents the amiable phase of Socialism. It has now reached what Mr. Bertrand Russell calls the militant stage. For, men everywhere, even in England, have become impatient of the reign of Capitalism. British workmen have declared strongly in favour of the necessity of direct action to distribute justly the product of industry. Mr. Bertrand Russell very rightly says:—" Capitalism can no longer make a tolerable world, or preserve for us the heritage of civilisation." So long as the efficiency of workmen "redounds only to the advantage" of the capitalist, so long the workmen cannot be said to have freedom. Hence, the latter want self-government in the settling of all industrial questions.

But even Socialism will not become the blessing it is expected to be, if economic exploitation is allowed to continue. So long as communities continue their present race for economic ascendency over each other, capitalism will remain. Mr. Bertrand Russell says:—"It is Nationalism alone in Europe and Asia, that enables capitalism to preserve its power for evil." Asia has learned its Nationalism from modern Europe, and with it all the evils of capitalism have followed. So, it is Europe that must undo the evil it has brought into existence in the world. It must root out both its Nationalistic and capitalistic ambitions and institutions and permit its new socialistic creeds the chance they deserve to have if the present social evils are to be got rid of. Mr. Bertrand Russell pleads for International Socialism in order that Europe and the world may arrive at a stable state of peace and good will among Nations which will insure free interchange of all kinds of commodities and the right of free immigration for all peoples. Then alone the world will be rid of the idea that the interests of different Nations are antagonistic, and economic justice and international co-operation will prevail in a world full of peace, hope and love.

If Nationalism remains, Socialism, too, will pass into its third or tyrannical stage and will prove another curse to mankind. Its leaders are working—or at least hoping— to make it international. But we saw precious little of international socialism during the late world-war, and there is nothing in the past history of the Socialistic movement to induce us to hope that it will become a force making for harmony and good-will among men.

So long as the social organisation is not based on the principle of renunciation and co-operation among the various groups composing society, so long as industry and activity of all kinds is not pursued as a love-offering to God and man, so long as the spirit of aggression within and exploitation abroad is the inpelling motive to work in all men's minds, we cannot have the privilege of living in a happier world than we have had hitherto. It is only when all human societies are organised on the basis of the knowledge that all men, however differing in their physical or mental clothing, are akin to each other in spirit and are here in the world to help each other to attain the same spiritual destiny of true self-conquest and self-realisation—that all are servants of one supreme Lord and are travellers towards the one goal of fulfilling his cosmic purpose,—that the conflicts now tearing human society in Europe and which Europe alone is helping, for its own purposes, to keep alive elsewhere will cease, and humanity will march onward towards the attaiment of a true peace and good-will which will bring happiness everywhere.

Notes and Comments.

In his seventh and concluding chapter, which has the curious title "India reborn in Christ," Mr. Holland speaks of the present and future of Christianity in India. Already India is "reborn in Christ," and yet he avows that there are more than 100 millions of "outcastes" who resist all attempts at conversion. Mr. Holland is pompous enough to proclaim to the world that "we are baptising in India at the rate of about 350 converts a day, or over 10,000 a month. There are twice as many converts as there are foreign missionaries in India." Is conversion only a matter of numerical calculation ? Or is it a change of heart and faith ? Are Christians in the world found to possess a higher character than others ? Certainly not in Europe—as the history of the last 50 years, and especially of the last 5 years, has shown and proved beyond all possibility of doubt. The history of Christian aggression and exploitation in India tells the same tale. What, therefore, has India to gain in morals and character by "being reborn in Christ", it is not easy to see. Mr. Holland himself is aware that "counting of heads tells us nothing about hearts." Still he is more proud of "the clean white robes" of the Christians of Travancore and Cochin than of their clean, white hearts. It is the life of the Christians that must be Christ-like,—for " he that saveth his life shall lose it and he that loseth his life shall save it !"

* * *

Mr. Holland says:—"Everywhere the Christians are a progressive community, characterised by new habits of cleanliness and self-respect." He wants us to compare "a group of Christian and a group of non-Christian women drawn from the same caste." The former are on their best behaviour before their white European and Christian masters, the missionaries, who employ them and otherwise help them in various ways, and hence their "new habits of cleanliness and self-respect." After all mere "cleanliness and self-respect" are not the highest of human virtues. Christianity, makes men, indeed, pushful and successful in the world, as we know well from the supremacy of modern European communities in the world. It may be quite true "that everywhere the Brahman is being jostled and challenged by the Christian of quite humble origin." We are even in a greater degree "being jostled and challenged" by our non-Brahmin Hindu Brethren. The truth is that the Brahmin has never cared for those qualities which are most attractive to the European mind and which make the European white men a terror among mankind.

* * *

Mr. Holland says:—"In the matter of attendance at daily service in church, England has nothing to show which can compare with the practice in Christian villages of Southern India." Certainly, this superiority cannot be ascribed to the influence of Christianity. For, the Christian religion has prevailed longer in England and formed the character of Englishmen to a larger extent than it has done in India in the case of Indian converts. Hence, the superiority of Indians in a matter which commends itself to Mr. Holland must be ascribed to other causes than the influence of Christianity. A similar remark holds good, also, in reference to Mr. Holland's statement that "already the Indian calendar has its roll of saints." It must also be noticed that, of the five eminent men whom he names among the saints, four are Brahmin-born. All Brahmins proclaim their descent from the "Rishis" or saints of a primeval age. The natural wish and aspiration of a true Brahmin is to become a saint. It is, therefore, easy to see how we are to account for the "saint-hood" of the Brahmin Christians whom Mr. Holland has named. He must also know that Indian castes generally try to imitate the Brahmins in their aspirations, beliefs, and modes of life.

* * *

Mr. Holland next considers the question, "Wherein have Indian missions failed ? " He answers as follows:—"The plain fact is that India as a whole has not seen in Christianity the true Church of the true God." To our mind the simple reason is that, in Europe, there is and can be no "true Church of the true God." The "true Church of the true God" has ever lived and flourished in India. Mr. Holland himself has avowed it when he speaks of "India's genius for religion, her instinct for the spiritual, her hunger after God, her limitless capacity for sacrifice, her worship of poverty and gentleness." God himself has given us the Veda and Vedanta to satisfy "our hunger of God." These, therefore, are the sources in which we have found the "true God" and so we form the "true Church" of God. Our ideas are now spreading all over the world, and we have recently been assured by Professor Mackenzie of Cardiff, that "the only religion which has a sound philosophic construction is Brahmanism" and all recent English philosophers of light and leading have largely borrowed the ideas of the Veda in their own teachings and doctrines. The Veda says that "truth alone wins, not falsehood." The Christian missionary, too, must follow the example of men like Mackenzie, Green, McTaggart, Bosanquet and others and boldly proclaim in India and elsewhere the spiritual truths of the Vedas and of the means—also proclaimed by the Vedas—to their realisation in the every-day life of men. So long as they do not adopt this course, the missionary endeavours in India must necessarily "fail." Mr. Holland rightly says of the so-called Christian Church in India that "its existing structure and organisation would collapse were the foreign missionaries withdrawn." "The Church," he says, "is largely exotic, and Indian Christianity therefore disappointingly uncreative. Almost everywhere the European rules."

* * *

Mr. Holland further says:—"We are a race of merchants with whom it is an axiom that he who pays the piper calls the tune......Church work too often becomes mercenary. Little is done that is not paid for. The Church, while supplying the missionary with crowds of workers for his employ, has litttle of the missionary spirit. Evangelisation is made to seem the duty, not of the Church, but of the paid preacher. The sense of vocation often seems lamentably absent. Church work is a profession, a means of livelihood." Again, "we cannot help being foreigners." "The converts are mostly ignorant." "Efficiency is our bugbear." "The Church is thought of as a great contrivance to minister benefits to its own members." Still, these men of the Church claim to be the followers of him who said, "My Kingdom is not of this world."

* * *

Let us, Hindus, take further note of what Mr. Holland says about ourselves:—"It is impossible to move among the finer spirits of cultured Hinduism without feeling that many a wistful soul turns sadly away from Jesus Christ, because, we, His followers, are not spiritual enough to satisfy the Indian that we have got the real thing." Mr. Holland can never know the many "cultured Hindus" that "have got the real thing." We have no organisation, indeed, and we know, also, that organisation is opposed as the poles to the spirituality which can secure true devotion and true spirituality, and lastly the self-realisation which leads to the ineffable bliss of the love which is freedom and the freedom which is love.

* * *

Mr. Holland, finally, says of India that "the devil has not been idle all these ages." But Satan has marked Europe for his own, and only attends to Asia or India as a casual diversion. That is our last word to Mr. Holland, and we gladly take leave of him and his work for the present. When any future work of his should, by chance or otherwise, cross our path, we may assure him that we shall be ready as ever to give him the treatment he deserves.

Our Social Problem and the Bhagavat Gita

By K. S. Ramaswamy Sastri B. A., B. L.

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Literary and Educational.

Our-Rough-Island-Story.

By "MILES."

There is unrest
In India,
In Egypt,
And in Ireland.
I cannot understand it.
It must be a plot.

* * *

Unrest in foreign countries
Is different,
—They may be misgoverned—
But if there is unrest
In the British Empire
It is always
A plot
On the part of foreign countries.
It is what I call
A conspiracy.

* * *

It is ridiculous
To talk about the rights
Of small nations.
India is not a small nation.
It is nothing of the sort.
We only keep India
Because, if we leave it,
The Indians
Would fight one another.
It is different
When Europeans fight one another.
But the Indians
Are a backward and brutal people,
And would not use
Guns, rifles, gas, bombs or flame-throwers.
It is better,
If you are an Indian,
To be bombed by a British aeroplane
Than to be hit
By another black.
We only stay in India
To protect the natives ;
When we leave it
There will not be one rupee left.
No Englishman has any right
To talk about India,
Unless he has been there ;
And no Indian
Has any right to talk about it,
If he lives there.
If he is a Maharajah
And plays cricket,
It is different.
A sportsman is a sportsman,
All the world over ;
Except in Russia, of course ;
And if an Indian Maharajah
Goes to an English Public School
He ought to be fairly safe—
Mens-sana in-corpore-sano-and-all-that !
The doctors say
That a healthy man,
Is unaware of his body,
And in the same way
You feel
With a healthy-minded public school man,
That he is unaware
Of his mind.
Look at our Generals !
They will show you
Where we should be
Without our public schools.
But none of the Indians
Know what they really want.
They only know what it is
That they don't want.
It is a plot.

* * *

It is the same in Ireland ;
Sinn Feiners
Are no better than Bolsheviks.
I'd shoot them all,
The bloodthirsty brutes !
A great big nation
Attacking a poor little country
Like Poland.
It is true
That the plucky little Poles
Had to advance first,
Or the Bolsheviks
Might not have attacked them.
But we never gave them any ammunition
To fight the Bolsheviks,
We merely sent it
To help maintain
Law-and-Order,
Just as we send it
To Ireland ;
And now the Bolsheviks
Have even attacked
The plucky little Persians.
It is a shame,
And prevents us
From keepnig
Law-and-Order.
By Law-and-Order
I mean the shooting
Of people
Whom you don't happen to like ;
But if they shoot back—
— Or even answer back—
It is what I call a plot.

* * *

The burglar,
Who had been caught red-handed
With the contents of three houses,
Said:
"Directly I saw the police
I knew
That there was a plot
To deprive me
Of my possessions."
Unless people
Are allowed to keep
What they have obtained,
There will be an end
To Law-and-Order.
It is what I call
A conspiracy.

—*The Nation.*

The Solicitor's Job.

A countryman applied to a solicitor for advice in a certain matter. On being asked if he had stated the exact facts of the case, he replied, with more truth than discretion, "Oh ay, sir, I thought it best to tell you the plain truth ; you can put the lees till't yerself."

—*John O' London's Weekly.*

* * *

A Postponement.

The Angel of Death was walking in the streets of Jerusalem with a friend. A man coming down the opposite side of the street saw, and apparently recognised, the Angel of Death ; he fled, terrified, down a side street, and left Jerusalem that night for Damascus. The friend who was walking with the Angel of Death said to the angel : "That man seemed to recognise you.' 'Yes,' replied the Angel of Death, "but I cannot understand why he was afraid of me, for I have not to meet him here, but to-morrow, at Damascus."

—*John O' London's Weekly.*

Intellectual Liberty and Literary style.

By Theodore Schroeder.

One's attitude toward free speech or toward popular or established ideas and institutions is, I believe, always a matter of temperament. So in the field of religious discussion we have men like J. W. Gott of England and Michael X. Mockus of America, who are compelled to come in frequent conflict with the blasphemy laws, largely because of their inability (unwillingness) to conform their public discussions to the amenities customary in the drawing-room. These temperaments, in imitation of the absolute, have their counterpart among industrial agitators, judges and millionairies. My own judgment is that they would all be more efficient in enlarging human understanding if they were more considerate of the feelings of others. In the absence of such considerateness their function is limited to furnishing intellectualizations and rationalizations to those whose emotional conflicts leave them in need of such props. When these intense and inefficient "propagandists for evil" come before a judge who is a victim of similar emotional conflicts, then their very inefficiency in promoting "evil" is made the excuse for a more severe punishment, and for excluding them from the beneficence of statutory or constitutional toleration.

Sir Robert Le Estrange, once chief censor of England, in his refutation of Richard Baxter says: "They [the Dissenters] labor to promote the cause by scandalous and rank invectives, against the Church, and stirring-up of tumults to reform it: by a loud pharisaical ostentation of their own holiness, and a sour churlish censure of all others: by sharp and sawcy aspersions upon the Royal party and by reflections yet more bitter and audacious upon his Sacred Majesty and his murdered father......A tumult for religion is within one step of rebellion." Obedience to the King was a divine precept. It is just for such impatient men as Baxter, and for the protection of such speakers as those above described that the free-speech issue was fought out, both for the religious and the governmental heretic. It is for the very purpose of suppressing the physical violence, which the common law directed against the irritation of mere verbal violence from the impatient critics, that free-speech guaranties were written into our American constitutions. This liberal attitude was based upon the sound psychologic doctrine that the relief of an emotional repression through an explosion in passionate words is the best way of precluding a would-be speaker from resorting to physical violence. The better remedy against overt acts of violence from the audience is rightly believed to consist in exhibiting to it a better argument, expressive of a better temper, and the product of a more mature understanding.

Feudal-minded judges whose illiberal temperament is perhaps the product of much thwarted and repressed passion, tell us from their seats of judicature and learning that intellectual liberty consists in the right to discuss anything with impunity so long as the amenities of polite discourse are preserved by the absence of scurrility, abuse, invective and the like. In other words, the judge's vanity must be protected by criticizing his views with abjectly humble poses.

In a blasphemy case Lord Denham put it thus: "Discussions on a subject, even the most sacred, might be tolerated when they were conducted in a fair spirit. But when appeals were made not to reason but to the bad feeling of human nature, or where ridicule or invective were had recourse to, it could not be considered discussion." In like manner do even our own unconscious aristocrats justify their feudal-mindedness, by exhibiting the same irritable temperament as those who are accused of transcending the limits of conventional intellectual hospitability. It is in the very likeness of their autocratic dispositions that we find the true explanation for the very hearty hostility toward each other, which may be at times exhibited between such persons as the Ex-Kaiser, William Hohenzollern, the Anarchist Emma Goldman and the late tempestuous Theodore Roosevelt. It is the conflict of absolutes, in an impatient contest for power and authority.

The opponents of censorship held a different view from that of Lord Denham. In America they found a voice in Dr. Benjamin Rush who held intellectual intercommunication was needed for "conveying heat and light to every individual in the Federal Commonwealth." Likewise the Continental Congress declared for freedom of the press, "whereby oppressive officials are shamed or intimidated into more honorable or just modes of conducting affairs." These and other declarations like them, from Roger Williams, James Madison and Thomas Jefferson, negative the idea that constitutional mental liberty was to depend upon politeness of style.

No one who ever made a fight for the unabridged intellectual liberty guaranteed by our constitutions ever dreamed of creating a stylist's aristocracy. Such men conceived of intellectual liberty as a general human "right," not a special privilege for a few who had attained some approved degree of rhetorical or oratorical culture. The cultured and culturined defenders of things as they are have always enjoyed unlimited intellectual liberty. The inherent and inalienable human "rights" sought to be protected by our constitutions did not take account of the ruffles and frills by which some discourses are adorned. If constitutional free speech is recognized as a "human right," then every human must have an equal "right" to express his own ideas, in his own way, with his own vocabulary, in the service of his own temperament. If equality of human "right" in relation to religious, political or economic opinion is to be observed, then the crudest artisan has the same "right" to portray his ignorant opinions, in his own ill-tempered fashion. as has the cultured priest to express a contrary opinion in a more efficient manner. The more educated and refined defenders and beneficiaries of things as they are, have enough advantage in their superior scholarship, without being given the aid of the policeman, or the power of a feudal-minded judge. Those who can, by an orator's or author's bad taste, be so influenced that they are blind to the larger problems of equality in human "constitutional rights," may be led to define liberty and equality, in relation to intellect, to consist in protecting the standpatter's "right" to attack atheists and agnostics, pacifists and industrial heretics or sex-reformers, with all the scurrility, invective and abuse that he can command, while the proponent of the unpopular idea may attack the orthodox opinions only according to the most polite and approved-of parlor etiquette, used with the humble prostration of intellect.

However, no friend of equal liberty, such as our constitutions were designed to guarantee, can give his approval to such an interpretation of intellectual liberty. Only those who forget the requirement of equality in liberty and, are seeking a plausible excuse for protecting and perpetuating "spiritual tyranny" and general reaction will ever define our constitutional guaranties as do our modern courts, in following the precedent of the Star Chamber court. It is only on rare occasions that judges have that democratic temperament which make possible the calm acceptance of the more mature views of Roger Williams, James Madison and Thomas Jefferson.

It is related of the Duke of Guise, an ardent Romanist, that during the siege of Rouen a Protestant was brought to him who confessed a design upon his life. The Duke dismissed him thus: "Get thee gone. If thy religion commands thee to assassinate those who never offended thee, mine will have me give thee thy life, though I may justly deprive thee of it. Judge of the two religions which is the best." Catholics like the Duke of Guise, and Protestants like Roger Williams seldom find the road to the legislative hall or to the judicial bench. Let us hope that the time will come when judges, legislators and policemen, will be as tolerant of opposition and as patient over verbal resistance as they expect the industrial and religious heretics to be over that which is to them a painful and material affliction.

—*The Open Court.*

The Hindu Message will be posted regularly every week to any address in India, Burma and Ceylon on payment of Rs. 6 only per annum; For all foreign countries within the Postal Union it will be despatched on payment of 20s. per annum. All subscriptions are payable in advance and should be remitted to the Manager "*The Hindu Message*" Srirangam.

Social and Religious.

The Madras Provincial Varnashrama Dharma Conference, Tinnevelly.

THE PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

By Brahmasri Rajasabhabhushana
KARPUR SRINIVASA RAO, B.S.C., L.C.E., M.R.A.S.
(*continued.*)

38. The modern Indian, when he thus begins to know the real state of things, feels very keenly that his own political and social structure has been unjustly demolished by his interested rulers, and the feeling is all the keener because he is not duly allowed to share the benefit due to the Western culture and Western civilisation which, notwithstanding the great difference it produces in society as already noted above, is still based on the attractive watchwords of "Liberty, Fraternity and Equality." The educated Indian pertinently asks his rulers "If your civilisation, that you ask me to admire and that you are now forcing upon me, is based upon the principle of liberty and equality, why do you not allow the same liberty and equality to me?" And the ruler so concerned, in sheer self-defence, by way of somehow putting off the pertinent questioner replies "Yes, I will allow you the same liberty and equality with me, only when you have secured similar equal conditions in your own society by levelling up all the present inequalities."

39. But as a matter of fact the modern civilization even in Western countries neither allows any real liberty worth the name to each individual, nor is there equality in the society, as already explained; and it does not require a great stretch of imagination to realize this, particularly for one who has visited Western countries and seen things as they are in those countries. It is true that in certain matters mainly concerning food and drink there is absolute liberty for anybody to do anything he likes and even this liberty after careful examination, will be found to be due to the scarcity of vegetable food stuffs, combined with climatic conditions requiring greater warmth in the body. But real liberty as such there is none, for it is the richer man that is afforded facilities for growing richer every day, while the poorer man, for want of such facilities, is more and more trodden down.

40. Where is the wholesome influence found in Europe which the ancient Sanatana Dharma imposed on the intelligent Brahman by insisting on his discarding riches and on his striving to make use of all his intelligence and the power thereby derived for the benefit of mankind? On the other hand, as soon as an intelligent scientist discovers a new gas, or invents a new machine, it is at once patented and utilised freely either to advance his own riches or to destroy his neighbours. Does such a condition conduce to secure equality among mankind? It is not intended that people should not engage themselves in such intelligent scientific pursuits; but it is contended, as is so eloquently done by the great Tolstoi of Russia, that the full fruits of such inventions should go for the benefit of mankind as such, rather than for that of the individual scientist. Tolstoi thus held up the Brahman ideal for the European world and though his arguments have been accepted to be faultless in principle they are in practice respected by non-observance and disregarded by the intelligent European whose one object is to utilize all his worldly intelligence to his own personal advancement.

41. It is thus clear that the watchwords of liberty and equality, so much relied on by our reformers in their admiration for their European rulers, are inapplicable in even Western countries, and the only effect that the onesided activities of such reformers will produce in India would be to disturb to a still greater extent the already disturbed conditions of the Indian peoples brought about by their alien rulers, and to produce further confusion. It is, if possible, to open the eyes of such onesided reformers that the activities of the old school of Indians are absolutely necessary and it is with this object that the Sri Bharata Dharma Mahamandal of India and other similar institutions in the country are struggling, although unfortunately the reformers have in their blindness, due to the glare of the Western sun, see nothing but opposition and refraction in the activities of the orthodox party, as they call it.

42. So far quite a general view of the Western civilisation and its influence on Indian institutions, through its rulers, has been taken, and it has been shown that most of the social evil that is now seen in the country is due to the practical destruction of Indian ideals without securing any proper substitutes for them. It now remains to trace the direct influence of our rulers on our people and that of the people so influenced on our institutions and the evil consequences that the whole population of India are thus made to suffer by this double action. Not to go beyond the establishment of the East India Company in India upon a firm basis in 1770 by the appointment of a Governor-General, the effect of the British Government in India can be easily shown to have disturbed her ancient and immemorial beneficial institutions more during this short period of 150 years than during any other equal period in the whole range of the historical age.

43. The causes for such a revolutionary change are not far to seek. They have become in a way more effective on account of the cumulative action of the subject race than even the initiative action of the dominant race. The one idea of the dominant race naturally was to keep the subject race under proper control consistently with their own safety; whereas the chosen people of the subject race, who came under the influence of the dominant race, in their anxiety to get greater and greater advantages to themselves, irrespective of the interests of their society or country, followed their guides with greater enthusiasm and thus became the agents for extending the evil influences of alien rule with the result that the conditions of the Indian Society became almost irrevocably disturbed.

44. A brief reference to some of the particular facts will make this general statement more clear. When the British Government was established in India in 1771, the representatives of such Government naturally formed an infinitesimal minority in the vast population of India, and it was decided by them after much deliberation, that the English language should be the medium of conducting such Government in the country. Thus it came about—that any contact between the rulers and the ruled for purposes of administration, could only be possible by securing a good number of interpreters or mediators. While on the one hand, the high class Indians in those days were perhaps smarting with great uneasiness at the establishment of a foreign Government in the country, and their one object was, as far as they could help it, not to co-operate with such a Government, the object of the Government, on the other hand, was to somehow secure the co-operation of these very people who wielded influence in their society by securing as many intelligent and influential mediators having knowledge of English as possible.

45. Accordingly English schools were established in the country and great attractions were offered for the people to join such schools. Not unnaturally, it was the more intelligent classes, who were engaged hereditarily in literary pursuits, that were attracted by such schools, and it is a matter of historical knowledge that the alumni of such schools as soon as they got a working knowledge of English, such as enabled them even roughly to interpret English thoughts into the vernacular, were at once transformed into big officials with fat salaries and enormous powers to do mischief rather than good to their neighbours.

46. Unfortunately also, it was through the enterprise of the Christian missionaries that these first English schools in the country were started, and their

one object was to convert as many Indians as possible to their own Christian religion. But such conversion was only practicable when long established religious convictions of Indians and the principles of their Sanatana Dharma were somehow shown to be objects of contempt side by side with securing an admiration for Christian dogmatisms. The school master missionary thus became a medium between the Government dignitary on one side and the Indian student on the other, and he exercised a double influence in upsetting the minds of his students. The certificate of the missionary school-master, showing a moderate knowledge of English, at once secured, at the hands of the official dignitary, for the young student the coveted places of service with lucrative emoluments and enormous power.

47. The one sided education thus secured with such ruinous effect on the religious institutions of the country made the immature student mad with power and wealth and enabled him to do his own work of upsetting the time honoured institutions of the country with all the greater force as he could work from inside his own society.

यौवनं धनसंपत्तिः प्रभुत्वमविवेकता ।

एकैकमप्यनर्थाय किमु यत्र चतुष्टयम् ॥

became in every way applicable to the young Indian student from the missionary schools, with his mind already upset in the school, and with a high and lucrative position obtained with a comparatively very easy effort by way of getting a smattering knowledge of English. The young student thus got the triple advantage of youthful age, plenty of money, abundant official power and these readily combined to enhance his folly. When the combination of all the four acts on a man, the result upon himself and the society, upon which he is left free, can be easily imagined.

48. The more such young men from the cultured classes of India were thus attracted to the Government service which secured for them so many worldly advantages the more intense became their contempt for their own institutions till everything by way of religion, philosophy, social customs, public institutions, &c., due to English influence became the one object of their admiration, and everything Indian an object of contempt. There was the ready fruit for the young Indian student for his smattering English education—official power with full liberty of action. All this indeed proved most attractive to the Brahmin student; he readily contrasted the 1001 restrictions under which he was placed according to the old Sanatana Dharma prevailing in his country and amongst his people with the absolute freedom almost amounting to license which his English education secured for him by way of wealth and power, and to this contrast must be traced all the activities of the so-called early reformers who came mostly from the highest or the Brahmin class of society. The advantages secured by such official position, and what not, blinded their recepients to the one thousand and one defects and disabilities that are inherent in such foreign institutions; and with such blindness they saw nothing but grandeur in everything relating to the West and nothing but debasement in everything relating to the East.

49. Then came the Universities and higher education in the country. Even here the English Government is very wise in their own interests to exclude, as far as practicable, Indian Philosophy and Indian Scientific literature in its highest branches from the curricula of such University studies, by forcing upon the young Indian mind, already so partial to European institutions, only such ideas and ideals as were peculiarly suited to the European conditions only. Lord Macaulay who wrote an exhaustive despatch, as to the course to be adopted in the matter of University education, has distinctly stated that for their own safety the British Government should insist upon English as the medium of education; and with a spirit of exaggeration so peculiar to this writer he went as for as to say that there was absolutely nothing worth the name of high culture in the Sanskrit language and that the whole range of Sanskrit literature in all branches is not worth one shelf of English books.

50. Of course, Macaulay had obviously his own reasons to thus force English as the medium of education on the subject race, but the pity is all the greater and more unfortunate because nearly all the educated Indians in the first stages honestly believed the dicta of Macaulay regarding the worthlessness of their literature. You cannot blindfold a man and yet expect him to see things through the folds of the bandage. This was exactly the condition into which the educated Indians, the first products of our Universities were reduced, on account of the one-sided education imparted to them under such vitiating circumstances. The evil became all the more effective in its mischief in as much as almost all of these University products were absorbed into more or less lucrative but subordinate positions under Government, and as the very existence of such subordinates whether as Deputy Collectors or even as successful Vakils, depended upon the goodwill of their western rulers or judges, an unconscious and a consequent desire for the imitation of western ideals in all matters of their life, even beyond the official influence, grew and developed.

51. However much the English educated enthusiastic reformer may deny in his own particular case any such baneful influence on himself, it is impossible for a calm outside observer to ignore the pitiable plight into which the University man was till recently driven by his college education and by his more or less subsequent official career. If any evidence was wanted a glance at the writings of Sir John Woodroffe and of a host of other impartial observers will convince even the almost blinded English-educated Indian of the truth of the above statement.

52. When however all the aspirations of the educated Indian could not be realized sheerly for want of sufficient Government appointments, then there was an eye-opener at least in one direction; and people began to realize that, as long as the rulers kept in their own hands all patronage in regard to power and position, it would be impossible for the increasing number of educated Indians to have their legitimate aspirations fulfilled; and it was then that an organised collective effort for political advancement, by way of National Congresses and Provincial Conferences was started in the country, and the power of such combined action became more or less irresistible. The English rulers who were ever anxious to conserve all such power in their own hands readily found out easy means of putting off the importunate and irresistible cry of the multitude of the educated Indians.

53. They took advantage of the blind admiration which such educated Indians had towards European institutions on the one hand and of the blinder contempt which they had towards their own time honoured native institutions on the other, and said to the importunate Indians that the condition of securing official equality with the European could be countenanced only if they forced similar equality amongst all sorts and conditions of men in the vast population of India. This is obviously an impossible task, notwithstanding the high enthusiasm of some of our own Europe-blinded reformers; and by setting such an impossible task the rulers have found a convenient way of evading the legitimate demands of educated India.

54. So much about the upper classes of Indians. The spread of education in the country gave facilities to several men of the other classes to take advantage of the same, and many men from these classes, after receiving such education, naturally aspired to get the same advantages which their more intelligent brethern secured for themselves in the early years of British rule in the country. But, on account of the obvious scarcity of such advantageous positions and the increasing number of such aspirants, the cry for securing further privileges

from the rulers became more widespread and pronounced than was possible when only one class of men were the aspirants. The resistance against such combined cry obviously became more difficult, and the only possible method of escape from such an undesirable situation was adopted. The educated men of the so-called backward classes were more amply rewarded in Government service and were more or less set up against their own more intelligent brethren with the result that the energies of the two classes are practically exhausted in their mutual quarrels leaving the rulers practically untrammelled in their own work of governing the country with the greatest advantage to themselves, irrespective of Indian aspirations however just and proper.

55. Thus the turmoil due to these internal disturbances has become doubly effective. The educated Brahman, notwithstanding his shrewdness, has not yet realized the miserable straits into which the men of his class have been reduced on account of his blind admiration of European institutions in high hopes of securing great advantages to himself at the hands of his European rulers. What is more, he on account of his almost unbridled and extravagant ways of living feels it very irksome to subject himself to the restricting condition of Sanatana Dharma, enforcing upon him disinterested work for the benefit of others. The self on the sensuous side has become the one factor dominating the life of the educated Indians, notwithstanding the philanthropic work done under noble inspirations by a few of them.

56. But the Sanatana Dharma insists that, to be able to undertake the philanthropic work with greater benefit, the educated Indian must curb his sensuous self and its false sense of liberty of action based on his helplessness in pursuing his sensuous pursuits. There is naturally a revolt against such a restriction. And it is on this account that many a Brahman reformer is so obstinately opposed to the time immemorial principles of the Sanatana Dharma. And when the Brahman himself has descended from his own ideals and when he wants to get down to the level of the Kshatriya or Sudra or even lower it was quite natural that the high respect, which the non-Brahmins entertained for the old type of selfless and serviceable Brahmins, was gradually diminished till after all the very name Brahmin has become an object of utter disregard, if not of contempt, to the non-Brahman, and this has combined with similar feelings entertained by some of the refractory Brahmans posing themselves as reformers.

57. With these unfavourable conditions the orthodox Brahman soon found he had lost the little advantage by way of social regard that his class enjoyed, and with this loss he found that the struggle for life became too much for him to bear, even with his simple habits and poor living. The consequence was that he also engaged himself in pursuing worldly ways and began to seek English education and service under his English rulers. All these factors combined to produce the downfall of the Brahman ideal. We now find that the high love for scholarship which the Brahmin entertained with disinterested work according to his Dharma is now a thing of the past, notwithstanding very rare exceptions here and there. With the loss of this distinctive characteristic the Brahman also practically lost his touch with the ideals of plain living and high thinking which his ancestors had entertained to the edification of the whole mass of Indian population.

58. But meanwhile, whatever may be the difference between the educated Brahmans and the non-Brahmans they both in a way soon realized that their salvation consisted in obtaining greater management of their own affairs, whether as Government servants, Municipal Councillors or Legislative Council Members. They all practically in one voice combined in asking for greater privileges in the administrations of their own country. The cry for such power whether as moderates or nationalists became almost universal and came from all parts of the country.

59. Fortunately or unfortunately, just at this juncture the great European war very forcibly opened the eyes of the English rulers that without securing the proper co-operation of the Indians it would be impossible, for the few English men in the country, or for that matter in the whole world, to protect against internal and external troubles this vast continent of India. With such an eye opener the shrewd rulers of the country have given the first instalment of the privilege of Self Government to the people of India in the shape of the New Reform providing for better representation in the Legislative and the Executive Councils.

60. It is now that India is put under a very great trial, because the principle of Representative Government though so attractive in Newspapers and books cannot in practice be properly realized. Representations must necessarily mean that there are proper intelligent men to represent things. Such intelligence means superior education, and again such superior education means superior capacity in the average individual for receiving such education. In any country whatever, the real labouring man as long as he remains a labourer can never have the facilities for such higher education, and even if he manages to get such facilities he can never acquire that natural power of benefitting by such education so that he may be really useful as a representative member of his own labouring class, and yet remain a regular labourer.

61. Even in most advanced England who is the man that represents the labouring classes? Not the labourer himself, but the man who has risen above the labouring class and yet shows sympathies for the aspirations of the real labourers. An examination of the present postings and qualifications of the Parliamentary Members would clearly show that the representation of the labouring or the lower classes is made by educated men of the Upper strata with sympathetic views rather than by men actually in the particular labouring class. This rule holds good with very rare exceptions which practically count for nothing.

62. While this is so even in England how can the people of India, with innumerable varieties in the degree of education and capacity among them, be expected to reap the full benefit of any system of representative Government worth the name? The ancient law-givers of the country wisely founded the Varnashrama Dharma system on the basis that the varied mass of population formed one whole. They made wise and farseeing laws to secure the full benefits of proper representation, not by each class of population, such as the different castes and communities so prevalent in this country, but by taking the population as a whole in different units of area under the system of village communities and *Rashtra Maryadas*. And in each such unit area the interests of the whole population were made to be interdependent on the several interests of the different communities as indeed no single community could exist without the co-operation of the other.

63. With such nicely balanced organisation in each unit of area, the intelligent Brahman studied with farseeing eye the requirments of his own village as a whole from the legal and the social points of view. The powerful Kshatriya efficiently enforced the laws and regulations initiated and guided by the disinterested Brahman. The other classes were thus enabled to attend to their own callings, to secure their own interests and to live a peaceful life under the guidance of the Brahman and the protection by the Kshatriya.

64. This is how the peace and prosperity of any country whatever can be secured whether in the East or in the West, whether in the ancient historical times or in the most modern socialistic epochs. There is the law-giver class or the wise members of Parliament representing the Brahman principle of the country. There is the soldier class enforcing the laws made by the first class and ultimately protecting the interests of all the classes agreeble to such laws. The merchants and the labouring class must form the back-bone of the

population in any country whatever, ancient or modern, and there can be no real representation whatever from members born in this class and engaged in the professions peculiar to that class. The great Carlyle has very forcibly expressed these ideas in the following passage

"Aristocracy and priesthood, a governing class and a teaching class; these two, sometimes separate, and endeavouring to harmonize themselves, sometimes conjoined as one, and the king a Pontiff king:—There did no society exist without these two vital elements, there will none exist. It lies in the very nature of man: you will visit no remotest village in the most republican country of the world, where virtually or actually you do not find these two powers at work. Man, little as he may suppose it, is necessitated to obey Superiors. He is a social being in virtue of this necessity; nay he could not be gregarious otherwise. He obeys those whom he esteems better than himself, wiser, braver: and will for ever obey such; and even be ready and delighted to do it."

The two lower classes—the merchant and the labourer—must depend upon the sympathetic members of the first class, or from members of their own class who have risen above the actual occupations of their own class and who by dint of their exceptional superior intelligence have acquired the habits and the education possible for the first class.

65. This well-known principle of representation of the whole class was thus enforced by his Dharma of service to the whole human race (Vasudhaika Kutumbakam) on the intelligent Brahman, and he too gladly did this useful service expecting nothing but mere maintenance in a really very poor status of life as a return for such service.

66. True to this principle, it was mostly the Brahman of India that struggled hard by Congresses and Conferences, by public lectures and newspapers, to fight for protecting the best interests of all classes comprised in the vast population of India, and now that the fruits of his labours have been partially realised as the first instalment by way of the Reform Act, all other communities have now in a body begun to belittle the work done by the Brahman and to aspire for representation of their classes by themselves. In India such a consummation securing equally powerful and efficient representation at the hands of their rulers could only tend to convert our Legislative Councils into only bigger Local Fund Associations and Municipal Councils, where the proverbial power of the Collector or the Municipal President with the "Johukum" noddings of the less educated members is so well known to every one who has any experience of such things.

67. One hundred and fifty years of strenuous efforts by way of educating the country have secured any education worth the name only among one to two per cent of the population; and even this small per centage is confined to the races more apt to receive and benefit by such education. It will take at least 1000 years, if at all, on the basis of this calculation, to secure a similar standard of education among all the multifarious classes of the vast population of this country; and no real representation worth the name would be possible till this millenium is reached after this long lapse of time. And God knows what things will happen during this interval.

68. This digression into the possibility or rather impossibility of securing the benefits of home Rule by real representation would be justified if it opens the eyes of the Brahmans as well as the non-Brahmans to some extent by suggesting the exact course of action to be adopted by each class under this crisis. The Brahmans have had a glorious past in India in having disregarded their wordly interests by devoting themselves entirely to study and to be in communion with God, at the same time giving the full benefit of their intelligence to the guiding of the destinies of the country. Whatever may be the condition of the present-day Brahmans due to the abnormal disturbances arising from foreign rule as already delineated above, they should not forget their old traditions and their own Dharma; and they should cease to be attracted by the bits and crumbs thrown at them by long waiting at the ante chamber of Government Houses and Public Offices.

69. If they do this, they are sure to prove extremely serviceable to the country and to be trusted by the people as their true representatives, and the abnormal cry for class representation, which would prove more or less futile as shewn, would cease. By this means, the fat salaries some few of them may expect may be lost, but there would be absolutely no fear for the Brahman to starve in thus undertaking the public work of the country. He wants very little to live according to the old Brahman ideal, and this little can be obtained more than readily in return for the great service he can do for his less educated brethren. The examples set by our great men show what great service can be rendered by poor and powerless men devoted to the Brahman ideal of selflessness even in these modern days and if their foot steps are followed, with even greater zeal if possible in adhering to our ancient Brahman ideal, by all Brahman workers in the field of modern progress, it is inevitable that India must reap the fruits of such labours without delay and without obstruction on the part of their oppenents however powerful. The present day struggle between the Brahman and the non-Brahman due to insufficient appreciation of each other's work and worth would then disappear, and even the non-Brahman would freely choose the Brahman as his efficient and intelligent representative.

(To be continued.)

Correspondence.

Dear Sir,

Herewith is sent a copy of a letter sent to "the Hindu" by my father. From past experience we do not expect the Editor to be impartial enough to publish it. As the matter is an important one, I request you will find room for it (the whole of it) in an early issue of the Message.

Your Sincerely,
R. Krishnaswai.

Your special correspondent whose communication is published in the Hindu of the 24th ulitmo, my friend Mr. K. G. Krishnaswami Aiyar by his letter to you, which is published in the same of the 30th ultimo, and the Secretaries to the Social Conference, whose Official Report is published in the issue of the 2nd instant, have all necessitated the sending of this communication to you for favour of publication (*wholly*, not by way of extracts merely) in your valuable Daily so that its readers may have an exact idea of the facts and events, connected with the Social Conference held at Tinnevelly, as they have been, and I shall thank you very much to show hospitality to this in the columns of an early issue of the same. I do not mean by this to enter into (much less, to indulge in) any kind of Newspaper controversy, and I may plainly tell you I have no faith in its usefulness even if the Press were impartial and inclined to give publication to all views without suppressing bonafide contributions and communications.

The Provincial Social Conference, Tinnevelly.

1. There has been no organisation for this Conference. Its President merely suggested an explanation by saying that even the National Congress was without proper organisation for several years in the beginning.

2. There was no public meeting convened for choosing or nominating Delegates for the Social Conference. Mr. K. G. Krishnaswami Aiyar himself admits in his said letter that there was no Creed for the Conference. "Delegation" therefore, in the real sense of the word, has been none and could not be. Tickets, no doubt, were arranged to be sold, but this was a financial concern merely.

3. In addition to having some days previously sent to the Press copies of a written Protest of mine in reference to the Social Conference, I had some printed copies of the same distributed to the public here on the evening of the 21st June and the morning of the 22nd before the conference began its sittings. Having thus already published a Protest, I felt it my duty to be present at the Conference to hear if anything by way of reference or answer would be said at the Conference by the President or others, and I got a delegate ticket purchased on the 22nd (Tuesday) morning. Within a few minutes of my purchasing the ticket information

reached me to the effect that the Conference Organisers announced free entrance to all into the pandal and stopped selling tickets. What the real cause of this sudden change in procedure was whether it was to secure somehow a decent audience to listen to the Social Reform speeches or to prevent any more of anti-Social Reform people going in with delegate tickets or for both the purposes, those Organisers alone could know. It was more probably the former; for, I was told that onlp a very few number of tickets had been purchased by people.

4. The Conference began on the morning of the 22nd June. The Reception Committee Chairman and the Conference President delivered their addresses. Then, the question of allowing all to take part in the further proceedings of the Conference, irrespective of payment of fee, was mooted by Mr. Sadhu Ganapati Pantulu and, after some consideration among the leading Organisers and the President, the President announced the further proceedings being open to all, subject to a limitation as to the number of speakers on the opposition side; Mr. Sadhu Ganapati Pantulu then further announced that, although no delegate fee would be levied, any payments made by the generously inclined people would be thankfully received as donations.

5. In the above circumstances, the statement of Mr. K. G. Krishnaswami Aiyar and others that no right of voting was conceded to the so-called "non-delegates" and the former's reference made to the general rule that delegates alone are entitled to vote are both of them equally un-understandable. Mr. K. G. Krishnaswami Aiyar's version that the President on the 22nd June declared that the said rule would be followed is not true. When the idea of collecting delegate fees was given up, when people are desired to make donations in the place of fees, and when all could take part in the proceedings of the Conference, where was then any distinction between a delegate and a non-delegate? If what Mr. K. G. Krishnaswami Aiyar and the Secretaries say be true, where was at all the occasion for the very question of leaving the Conference proceedings open to all to arise? Already at the very commencement of the Conference, and at the initiative of the Conference Organisers themselves, the outside public had been allowed free entrance into the pandal as stated above. What was then the further question that was considered after the Presidential Address was over if it were not that of leaving the questions arising in the course of the Conference to be considered and decided by the majority of the whole meeting? It may be the President and the Organisers were not, in the interest of Social Reform as they have conceived it, well advised in announcing the Conference to be open to all. But, once having done so and thereby induced the public to attend in large numbers in the hope of seeing the most sensational Social Reform questions properly discussed in public and considered by the people themselves, they had no sort of justification or excuse to back out afterwards. Evidently they did not realise their mistake or imprudence in allowing their fantastic Social Reform views to be put to an open, public test until after some of them appeared on the platform on Wednesday morning (23rd June), saw the huge assembly sitting in the pandal, numbering between Two Thousand and Three Thousand, and feared that their pet Social Reform movement, carefully reared by them in chambers for nearly quarter of a century, would be opposed by an over-whelming mojority of the public and would have its end that day. Had any idea of a distinction between "delegate" and "non-delegate" been present in the mind of any of the Organisers beforehand, they would have surely made previous arrangements for the separate location of "delegates" and "non-delegates." The idea was evidently nowhere, such a distinction being unreal in this case. In fact, Mr. K. G. Krishnaswami Aiyar came to me on the platform that morning before the arrival of the President and asked me if I had *People* ready on my side to count the number of votes, and I said "yes." What does all this mean? Certainly, no number of men are required to count the votes given by one or two dozens of exceptionally privileged "Delegates" alone.

6. I am surprised to find that Mr. K. G. Krishnaswami Aiyar and the Social Conference Secretaries have characterised the gentleman who found the assembly in the pandal on the 23rd June as "*my followers*," as having been of "*unruly behaviour*," as having *begun to* "*interrupt the proceedings*," as having "*refused to keep silent*," as having a "*love of sheer mischief*," and all that. Wholesale libel cannot go further, and every one of these sweeping imputations is false. It will be height of impertinence on my part to claim any of such gentlemen as my follower. It has long been my ambition to follow in the footsteps of many of those gentlemen who have been well-known for their lofty erudition, nobility of character and examplary life of practical usefulness and all-elevating influence. On an impression that the Social Reform views would be publicly tested in the light of common sense and ordinary science and of special Sastraic provisions too in the Conference on that day, a large number of eminent Pandits of real merit, who had come from several parts of the Presidency and who were well-versed in all Sastras, including Dharma Sastras, attended the Conference (an absolutely quiet set of great pious souls), and it was intended to utilise their knowledge also if the nature of the Conference discussion should take such a turn as to necessitate such a course. Some of them have had great distinction as well-trained dialecticians and have been honoured in many a Sadas of superior learning in the courts of some of our important Ruling Chiefs of the Country such as those of Mysore, Trivandrum, Udaipur and Pudukotah. The rest of the assembly also consisted of many gentlemen of great attainments and high character (not to speak of their respectable wordly positions also), to imitate whom in life will itself be a privilege to me, to Mr. K. G. Krishnaswami Aiyar and to every one of the Social Conference Secretaries.

7. I have long known the President Mr. C. V. Krishnaswami Aiyar, and my admiration of his many qualities of the head and the heart is indeed immense. Even the mind of such a gentleman appeared visibly upset on that 23rd (Wednesday) morning, and his procedure then was in consequence faulty. On coming to the platform he saw the people assembled, had some little talk with the chief Organisers, and without sitting on his presidential seat, retired inside saying he would consult with the Reception Committee Members and come again. The conference had begun the previous day, and he ought to have known that the further proceedings of the Conference should be all considered and resolved upon at the Conference itself. What business had he to consult with the members of the Reception Committee, who as such had no voice at all in matters relating to such proceedings, is difficult to understand. Quite naturally many in the assembly then expressed their disapproval of the President's procedure in this and other respects. Aobut twenty minutes later the President came out, rushed straight to the fore-end of the platform and announced that the Conference was adjourned to the next day and that the further proceedings would be open only to delegates who had obtained tickets before Monday evening. Just then Mr. R. Ganapati Aiyar of Madura, who was near him, objected to both the announcements as improper and out of order, and very many in the assembly too joined in raising that objection. The President, not caring for the objection, left the pandal amidst the inevitable cries of "shame" proceeding from some sections of the huge assembly, which nobody then could prevent under the circumstances. [To the best of my recollection, Mr. R. Ganapati Aiyar said or did nothing on that day until the very last stage (after the final announcement by the President was made) at which he objected as aforesaid. Mr. K. G. Krishnaswami Aiyar's remark against him as if his attitude also was responsible for the putting off of the Conference is untrue.]

8. As the President, rightly or wrongly, announced, as stated above, that further proceedings would be open only to delegates who had obtained tickets before Monday evening, I did not think it proper to attend on Thursday (24th June). Curiously enough, the Secretaries' Official Report reveals that, notwithstanding the Presidant's above announcement, delegate tickets were in fact issued till the night of Wednesday (23rd June), presumably to a select few secretly who were intended by the Organisers to vote on the next morning. I also understand that an official communication to Mr. R. Ganapati Aiyar confirms this fact of issue of such tickets till that night. This is plainly a gross *fraud upon the public*. This fact having somehow leaked out, a large number of Hindus, numbering over One Thousand, appear to have gone to the pandal on the 24th morning and demanded the issue of delegate tickets to them annuncing their readiness to purchase them in hundreds, which was of course refused. When the people then were protesting against the procedure adopted by the President and others, the farce of resolutions of the few (ridiculously few) so-called delegates on the platform was hurried through and the proceedings were soon brought to a close.

9. Apart from the facts detailed above, what is really important is the real worth of the Social Conference proceedings and the measure of their influence and usefulness. In fact, the public originally did not appear to have been over-anxious to attend the Social Conference or to take part in its proceedings, and that on payment of fees, as may be inferred from the fact that, although no specific Creed had to be accepted and signed, only very few tickets appear to have been purchased, whereas there were about 2700 delegates (on payment) for the Political Conference and about 3000 delegates for the Varnasrama Dharma Conference taking free tickets on accepting and signing the Varnasrama Creed. [I wish to mention in this connection that the Official Report of the Social Conference Secretaries is wrong in its out of the way remark that the *Visitors* to the Varnasrama Dharma Conference had to sign a Creed. The fact was that, owing to the refusal to lend the Political Conference pandal for the holding of the Varnasrama Dharma Conference, the latter Conference had to be held in a separate hall which could accommodate only its delegates, and hence no provision could possibly be made for admitting mere Visitors.] The aforesaid Official Report says at the end that by a majority the Social Conference passed its resolutions. May I ask what the total number was of the delegates who passed those resolutions? I am reliably informed that it was not more than 30 (Thirty) and that the largest number of majority votes secured for the passing of the most popular resolution recorded at the Conference was 24 (Twenty Four). Very likely, many among these 24, who formed the over-whelming majority among the delegates, became themselves delegates after the 23rd morning; but of course, I cannot be sure of this. When hundreds of Hindus were prevented from becoming delegates, the worth of resolutions passed by persons, 24 and less in number, is self-evident. What a grand *Provincial* Social Conference! The incidents of the 23rd and the 24th June are a great eye-opener to all. I have stated, at about the end of para 4 of the Protest referred to above, that the Social Reform hobbies are quite contrary to the general sense of the Hindu Community, and I have suggested in para 5 thereof a complicated kind of procedure to test that general sense if necessary. Such a troublesome test seems not wanted at all now. The happenings of the two days mentioned above have clearly proved such general sense beyond any shadow of doubt, and no more test is really needed. Social Reform movement is shown to be only a Huge Bubble that cannot bear even a slight prick. This prick it has had at Tinnevelly, and it has burst.

Tinnevelly,
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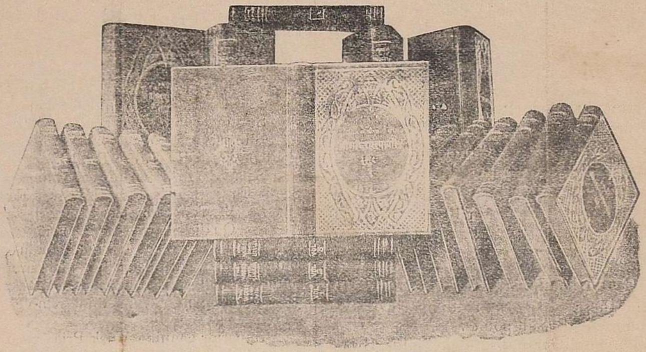

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